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FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6909

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KHARTOUM 1753

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SU
SUBJ: NIMAIRI COMPLETES GRAND TOUR

REF: A. KHARTOUM 1553; B. KHARTOUM 1675

1. SUMMARY: PRES NIMAIRI HAS COOMPLETED EXTENSIVE TOUR OF COUNTRY IN WHICH HE PUT PRIME FOCUS ON BUILDING SUDAN SOCIALIST UNION (SSU) AS ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN TRANSFERRING POWER TO PEOPLE. TO LESSER DEGREE HE ALSO SOUGHT REASSURE SUDANESE REGARDING CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. NIMAIRI LASHED OUT STRONGLY AT COMMUNISTS AND ALSO CRITICIZED LESS SPECIFICALLY OTHER FORMER POLITICAL PARTIES. PUBLIC REACTION TO TRIP VARIES ACCORDING POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE, BUT NIMAIRI APPEARS BUOYED BY CONTACT OUTSIDE KHARTOUM AND AT LEAST SHORT TERM POSITIVE IMPACT CREATED BY HIS GOING TO PEOPLE. HOWEVER, BASIC ECONOMIC PROBLEMS REMAIN AND THERE CONSIDERABLE DOUBT HE HAS EITHER SUPPORT OR UNDER-STANDING MOST SUDANESE. END SUMMARY:

2. NIMAIRI'S TOUR: PRES NIMAIRI RETURNED KHARTOUM AFTERNOON JULY 30 AFTER COMPLETING 20-DAY TOUR OF COUNTRY INCLUDING VISITS TO OVER 40 CITIES AND TOWNS. TOUR TOOK PRES TO ALL NINE PROVINCES OUTSIDE KHARTOUM AND INCLUDED ADDRESS TO "MASS RALLY" AT EACH STOP BY NIMAIRI, SSU DEPUTY SYG ABUL GASIM MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM (USUALLY), AND LOCAL OFFICIALS. LARGE NUMBER OF PRES'S SPEECHES CARRIED ON RADIO WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS GIVEN TO THOSE AT
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HASSAHEISA (BLUE NILE PROVINCE) AND NYALA (DARFUR) ON JULY 19

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AND 22 RESPECTIVELY, ANNIVERSARIES OF 1971 COUP AND COUNTER-COUP.

3. THEME OF SPEECHES: SPEECHES HAD CENTRAL THEME THROUGHOUT TOUR, SUPPLEMENTED BY REGIONAL VARIATIONS. MOST BASIC ELEMENT (APPEARING NOT ONLY IN EVERY SPEECH OF NIMAIRI, BUT ALSO IN MOST SUPPORTING ADDRESSES) WAS EXHORTATION TO SUPPORT AND STRENGTHEN SSU. NIMAIRI CONTINUOUSLY HIT THEME REVOLUTION CARRYING OUT ITS PROMIS TO VIE "POWER TO PEOPLE" STARTING WITH CREATION OF SSU "BASIC UNITS" AND ELECTION OF STRONG, "CORRECT MINDED" LEADERS TO LOCAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS. STRONG SSU WOULD ALSO INSURE PEOPLE'S VOICE IS HEARD AND WOULD ENABLE REVOLUTION COMPLETE ITS TASK.

4. WHILE EXTROLLING SSU BENEFITS, NIMAIRI REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR THAT OPPOSITION TO IT WOULD NOT BE TOLERATED. HE STARTED TOUR IN ATBARA BY REJECTING SUDAN RAILWAYS UNION LEADERSHIP CLAIMOF LABOR'S RIGHT TO WORK OUTSIDE SSU FRAMEWORK. IN SUBSEQUENT STOPS HE (A) CITED CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION THAT SSU IS ONLY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND HIS DUTY UPHOLD CONSTITUTION (INTERESTING TWIST IN VIEW PREDOMINANT POSITION OF SSU OVER CONSTITUTION AS NOTED KHARTOUM A-52 JULY 11; AND (B) LASHED OUT AT NOW DISBANDED PARTIES. COMMUNISTS SUBJECTED TO STRONGEST AND MOST POINTED ATTACK. MUSLIM BROTHERS LIKEWISE SINGLED OUT PARTICULARLY FOR ABA ISLAND AFFAIR. TRADITIONAL PARTIES ALSO SCORED FOR "DIVISIVE ACTIVITIES", BUT NIMAIRI IN THIS INSTANCE DID NOT NAME NAMES--E.G., UMMA, NUP OR SADIQ ET AL. IN SHORT, PRES SAID OLD SYSTEMS HAD BEEN FAILURE AND NEW SINGLE PARTY SYSTEM EMBODIED IN SSU WARRANTS PUBLIC SUPPORT.

5. AS GENERAL THEME NIMAIRI ALSO STRESSED SELF-HELP AND LINKED THIS TO SSU BY STATING SUCCESSFUL CREATION OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS WOULD LEAD TO SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS. WHILE THIS LINE CLEARLY A RESPONSE TO EXISTING ECONOMIC COMPLAINTS, PRESIDENT APPEARS HAVE AVOIDED PUBLIC GIVE AND TAKE ON SUCH ISSUES, E.G., SUPPLY PROB-LEMS AND RAISING PRICES.

6. REGIONAL PROBLEMS GOT MORE ATTENTION IN WEST AND SOUTH, WITH NIMAIRI NOTING SUPPLY SITUATION IN FORMER AND UNITY IN LATTER. SUPPLY PROBLEMS GENERALLY BLAMED ON CAUSES BEYOND CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT, BUT AT SAME TIME PRES SAID REGIME HAD NUMBER OF PROGRAMS EITHER READY FOR IMPLEMENTATION OR UNDER STUDY WHICH CONFIDENTIAL

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WOULD HELP SITUATION. IN SOUTH, NIMAIRI APPEARED TREAT SSU ON LOWER KEY, STRESSING INSTEAD SUCCESS OF PEOPLE IN IMPLEMENTATION ADDIS ACCORD. INTERESTINGLY, IN MAJOR SPEECH IN JUBA HE ACKNOW-LEDGED THAT A FEW TROUBLE MAKERS WORKING UNDERMINE ADDIS ACCORD, BUT SAID THEY HAD NO CHANCE SINCE AGREEMENT WAS ACHIEVEMENT BY SUDANESE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE, NOT INDIVIDUALS.

7. ANNIVERSARIES OF COUP/COUNTER-COUP: SPEECHES AT HASSAHEISA

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AND NYALA, WHILE HAVING SOME OF THEMES NOTED ABOVE, HAD SPECIAL CHARACTER FITTING TO OCCASION. NYALA ADDRESS IN PARTICULAR WAS BLISTERING ATTACK ON COMMUNISTS, NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF 1971, BGT FOR THEIR ACTIVITIES SINCE INDEPENDENCE. NIMAIRI DENIED THEY HAD MADE ANY CONTRIBUTION TO MAY REVOLUTION AND SAID THEY WERE ALSO OPPORTUNISTS IN 1964 JOINING OCTOBER REVOLUTION ONLY AFTER SURE ITS SUCCESS. COUP IN 1971 WAS CONSPIRACY OF "COMMUNISTS LACKEYS" ORIGINATED AND SUPPORTED FROM ABROAD. HASSAHEISA SPEECH SOMEWHAT MORE RESTRAINED, BUT STILL HAD STRONG-ANTI-COMMUNIST VEIN. NIMAIRI ALSO USE THIS OCCASION TO HIT OUT AT PRESENT DAY COMPLAINERS IN KHARTOUM WHO REACT FROM THEIR "SELFISH CONCERNS AND LUXURIOUS TASTES."

8. TRIUMPHANT RETURN: SSU WENT ALL OUT TO ORGANIZE MASS RECEPTION AT AIRPORT FOR PRESIDENT ON RETURN TO KHARTOUM. "INVITATIONS" ISSUED TO VARIETY ORGANIZATIONS (LOCAL SSU BASIC UNITS, WOMEN'S AND YOUTH GROUPS, WORKERS AND TENANTS UNIONS, AND KEY PERSONNEL IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR CORPS); AND PRESS PLAYED UP OCCASION SEVERAL DAYS IN ADVANCE. RESULT WAS CROWD OF PERHAPS 15,000 WHICH NOT ONLY BIGGER, BUT MORE REPRESENTATIVE THAN THAT ON RETURN DAY (REF B). NIMAIRI PRESUMABLY PLEASED, PARTICULARLY IN COMPARISON TO MAY DAY FIASCO (KHARTOUM 1014), BUT IT LIKE-WISE APPEARED TRIP HAD RESTORED HIS BELIEF THAT SUDAN CONSISTS OF MORE THAN KHARTOUM, AND IN ADDRESS TO CROWD HE POINTEDLY NOTED "KHARTOUM IS NO LONGER CONSIDERED THE ONLY CENTER OF INTELLECTUAL RADIATION FOR THE COUNTRY. INSTEAD, MOST TOWNS HAVE ALSO BECOME CENTERS OF SUCH RADIATION". FRITTS

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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KHARTOUM 1753

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9. ASSESSMENT: A. SUDANESE: LOCAL ASSESSMENT OF TRIP DEPENDS IN LARGE MEASURE ON OBSERVER'S POINT OF VIEW AND ORIGINAL EXPECTATIONS. SEEMS CLEAR IN FIRST INSTANCE THAT IT SERVED BUOY NIMAIRI'S SPIRITS. US BUSINESSMAN WHO SAW PRES AUG 1 SAID HE LOOKED TIRED (AS WELL HE MIGHT AFTER GRUELLING SCHEDULE), BUT CLEARLY PLEASED AT FEEL OF PEPLE HE HAD ACHIEVED. MOST INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS WOULD ALSO AGREE THAT TRIP POSITIVE IN SENSE THAT FIRST TIME CHIEF OF STATE HAS MADE SUCH EXTENDED VISIT TO ALL CORNERS OF COUNTRY. IN VIEW SIZE, DIVERSITY AND COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEMS OF SUDAN, THIS IS NO SMALL ACHIEVEMENT IN TERMS OF GIVING OUTLYING AREAS AND PEOPLE SENSE OF PARTICI-PATION AND IMPORTANCE. ON OTHER HAND, OPPONENTS TAKE POSITION TRIP IN LARGE MEASURE WASTE OF TIME (AND IT TRUE THAT WHEN PRES OUT OF KHARTOUM MANY DECISIONS DO NOT GET MADE). THEY ARGUE THAT ANY PERSONAL IMPACT NIMAIRI MAY HAVE HAD ON PEOPLE WILL BE SHORT-LIVED, THAT PROBLEMS TOO SERIOUS AND PEOPLE TOO INTELLIGENT TO BE MORE THAN MOMENTARILY DISTRACTED FROM REAL COMPLAINTS. OPPONENTS ALSO NOTE THAT TRIP IN NO WAY SOLVED ANY OF THESE PROBLEMS. (THIS DRAMATICALLY BROUGHT HOME WHEN TWO DAYS AFTER HIS RETURN, KHARTOUM VIRTUALLY RAN OUT OF GASOLINE/DIESEL DUE TO POWER FAILURE IN WAKE OF RAINS WHICH MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE PUMP FUEL FROM STORAGE TANKS. TO CAPITAL RESIDENTS, IT WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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STRIKING REMINDER OF SUPPLY PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE GRIPPED COUNTRY FOR LAST FEW MONTHS.)

B. EMBASSY: ESSENTIALLY, BOTH SIDES ARE RIGHT IN THEIR ASSESS-MENT. AS PUBLIC RELATIONS/POLITICAL EXERCISE, TRIP UNDOUBTEDLY HAD POSITIVE IMPACT ON BOTH PEOPLE AND PRES HIMSELF. BUT IN LONG RUN, SUDANESE ARE GOING TO FOCUS ON RESOLUTION ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN JUDGING REGIME. AS FOR PRIME OBJECTIVE OF NIMAIRI'S TRIP--BUILDING SSU--- WE REMAIN SKEPTICAL AS TO SUCCESS. TRIP WAS REGARDED IN SOME QUARTERS AS LAST-DITCH EFFORT. A CURRENT RUMOR IN KHARTOUM IS THAT NIMAIRI, IN FACT, HAS ACCEPTED FAILURE OF SSU, WILL SHORTLY ABOLISH IT AND FORM INSTEAD SINGLE PARTY COALITION OF HIS FORCES WITH FORMER UMMA AND NUP. WE DO NOT GIVE MUCH CREDENCE TO THIS TACTIC BELIEVING IT PROBABLY INSTIGATED BY REGIME OPPONENTS. HOWEVER, IT IS ONLY BECAUSE PEOPLE GENERALLY CONFUSED BY--AND DISINTERESTED IN--SSU THAT RUMOR COULD GAIN WIDE CIRCULATION AND DEGREE OF PUBLIC CREDIBILITY.
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